2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

familiarity, joking, ridicule, insult, or attack. Although the *Vd.-Vd* relationship also implies equality of status, it is by no means the same psychologically, since both parties extend reciprocal respect.

In the light of the individualism of Tepoztecans, a great deal of competition in inter-personal relations might be supposed. But this is not the case. Tepoztlán is not a competitive society.[7] Accordingly, a lack of strong drive and ambition for self-improvement and a lack of initiative and originality are notable. Most adults tend to be self-satisfied if they have enough food and clothing from harvest to harvest. Among the young people, too, there is a general acceptance of the way of life: young men wish to be farmers as their fathers are, and most young girls continue to work at home and serve their elders. The rewards they seek are not impossible of achievement: occasional new clothes, shoes, a sweetheart, freedom to attend fiestas, and ultimately to marry, with some parental help.

Most married adults find sufficient reward in their growing children, who by their obedience and labor little by little lighten the burden of the parents and give some promise of protection for their parents' old age. (See Fig. 51.) There is almost no pressure upon the parents by the children in the form of demands for material comforts or for independence. Even parents who do not provide minimum necessities for health and comfort, or who are lazy or who drink, do not lose their authoritative position or their right to respect. Few Tepoztecan parents feel inadequate or a failure for not providing well or advancing economically. Insubordination on the part of the children would have a far more shaking effect than chronic poverty upon parental esteem.

There is a relative absence of concern for the future. Only the minority, who recognize education as an important source of security, save in advance for the education of a son or daughter. It is among these families that self-denial in the present, in order to gain future reward, is encountered—a familiar pattern among the urban middle class. The rest of the population exercise general thrift, but it can best be characterized as spending when there is money and pulling in their belts when there is none. The absence of saving "for a rainy day" or for a "nest egg" is striking.

Young people planning marriage do not save in anticipation of their many needs; they marry at short notice, as soon as there is money to pay for the wedding, the money being supplied by the boy's parents from the sale of an animal, by borrowing, or sometimes by the boy's going to work for a few months until the money is raised. Again, when a child is expected, there is no saving in anticipation of its

[7] Though competition occurs in Tepoztlán it is generally between groups rather than between individuals and, for the most part, is limited to social rather than economic activities in which prestige rather than material gain is at stake.

It is interesting to note that in recent years the introduction of certain forms of competition has had disastrous effects. The violence, murder, and bitterness which have grown out of the new competitive enterprise, such as the two bus lines, and the inter-village competition in the communal forest resources for the commercial production of charcoal, suggest that Tepoztecans were quite unprepared for such innovations.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the continuation of a test on the grounds that *se calienta la cabeza*, that is, the child's head would get too hot from thinking so much!

SUBJECTS CHOSEN

The total population whose records could be used in the study was one hundred and six. Six records were discarded since the subjects failed to give any responses or gave responses not related to the stimulus material. The subjects ranged in age from five to seventy-four years, fifty-nine were males and forty-seven were females. No attempt was made to secure an equal number of subjects at different age levels by sex, but we did obtain a small but fair sampling of children and adults at various age levels. The subjects were divided into five chronological age categories with the idea of comparing them: young children, children just before puberty, adolescents, younger adults, and older adults. This selection was somewhat arbitrary, since we had in mind the accepted age range of children, adolescents, and younger and older adults in American Society.[5]

Groups used for comparison in this study were as follows:

		C. A. Range	*Females*	*Males*
A	Older adults	47-74[6]	12	9
B	Younger adults	20-39	9	12
C	Adolescents	13-19	15	10
D	Children just before puberty	9-12	12	13
E	Young children	5-8	4	10

RESULTS: THE GROUP AS A WHOLE

The intellectual approach of Tepoztecans to the world around them appears to be concrete rather than abstract (D larger than W, see Table 54). They stick predominantly to the actual world in which they live, a world of everyday occurrences (D responses and no preponderance of phantasies over responsiveness to stimulation from the world around). Their movement (M) and color (Sum C) responses are fairly equally balanced except in the case of the older males, who give preponderantly color responses. A small deviant group (14 cases out of 106), ten of whom belong to one family, have a more exaggerated mode of responding to the cards. They are determined and try to do their best, as do the rest of the population, but when a job is too hard for them they resort to a fragmentary type of Rorschach response, breaking down the situation into minute and repetitive items (seeing countless parts of animals and plant details).[7] Aside from this minority group of fussy individuals, who would be called obsessive-compulsive in the United States, the majority of tested Tepoztecans do not give up a task, nor do they resort to unrealistic aloofness with flights into phantasy.

[5] Although many girls between the ages of thirteen and nineteen are married in Tepoztlán, they usually do not maintain their own homes nor take on the full responsibilities of adulthood until they are older, so that their place in the adolescent group is not without justification.

[6] Two females and five males in this group were fifty-five years of age or older.

[7] In a subsequent study on family groups, this family will be discussed in detail.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

[p. 309]

TABLE 54. Number of Subjects in Each Subgroup Who Made a Score in Various Rorschach Categories of Response Which Was at the Approximate Median or Exceeded It For the Whole Group.

Subgroup	Sex	C. A.	R	W	W%	D	M	FM	F%	C	<	C'	A%	H	Obj	Anat	N
A_1 9	F	40-74	5	4	5	3	1	2	7*	4	5	2	2	6*	9*	2	5
A_2 12	M	40-68	6	8*	8*	3	2	3	4	6*	7*	5	1	4	4	3*	4
B_1 12	F	20-39	4	5	8*	5	4	4	6	3	7*	5	6	3	3	2	5
B_2 9	M	20-39	6*	2	4	6*	3	4	4	5	2	5	3	5	6	5	4
C_1 10	F	13-19	4	3	6*	4	2	2	7*	4	2	0	3	5*	10*	5	10*
C_2 15	M	13-19	9*	7	7	6	5	8	5	7	11*	2	7	5*	8*	2	6*
D_1 12	F	9-12	9*	2	3	6	4	5	10*	5	2	1	6	4	7	1	7
D_2 13	M	9-12	10*	4	5	9*	2	5	10	4	3	0	9*	4	1	0	2
F_1 4	F	5-8	3*	1	3*	1	0	0	4*	1	0	0	3	2	3	0	6*
F_2 10	M	5-8	4	3	6*	3	0	2	5*	4	1	2	5	4			
Approximate median for whole group			15	7	30	12	2	5	50	2	1	1	60	2	1	1	2

* Sixty per cent or more of the subjects.

157

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

157 Tepoztecan interests seem to be predominantly centered around those animals found in their surroundings, nature, and inanimate objects which are part of their material culture. The records suggest that Tepoztecans have a strong tendency to [156] avoid close contact with people, and are limited in their social outlook. Each individual appears to act pretty much as a lone wolf, with little understanding of cooperative enterprise. Human movement responses do not envisage two people doing anything together, except in rare instances where two people are described as holding something. Nor do Tepoztecans express open hostility; human and animal movement are not expressed in aggressive terms, such as fighting, pulling, pushing. There is rather an atmosphere of caution and reserve; movement of animals and people is expressed in terms of holding, looking, staring, as well as the more passive or indifferent descriptions of sitting and standing. The exception to this passive trend is in the subgroup of young boys between nine and twelve years of age, who sometimes describe animals as jumping, running, and climbing.

The people of Tepoztlán seem to have good mental control (F+ and F%), and show themselves capable of attending to tasks that have to be performed in the world around them. They do not live in the clouds, yet they are not merely rigid or inflexible. They are capable of being impulsive (using color-form responses), and their phantasy life (as expressed in human movement responses) is not entirely repressed. In general, the pure-form response is high (the median is around 50 per cent), but rarely goes up to a rigid extreme of 75 per cent. All of these modes of response are revealed in modified ways at the different age levels.

157 171 ## *RESULTS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF OTHER INVESTIGATORS*

In studies carried on in the United States and Europe both among the white, Negro, and some North American Indian populations, and among individuals of average and superior intelligence, with more or less educational opportunities and favorable socio-economic backgrounds, the usual number of responses to the inkblots ranges from twenty to forty.[8] Only a few of our subjects gave as many responses as this. The median number of responses for our young adult males (Group B_2) is 23, for the adolescent boys it is 19.6 (Group C_2). For the children between nine and twelve years of age (Groups D, female, and D_2, male), this median is 24.5 for the girls and 22.0 for the boys. For the other groups, the medians are lower: 15 responses for the older women (A_1), 14.5 for the older males (A_2); 12.2 for the younger adult women (B_1), 14.0 for the adolescent girls (C_1); 12.2 for the four little girls (E_1) and 16 for the little boys (E_2).

Comparison of our results with those found by Billig, Gillin, and Davidson in their study of the Ladinos and Indians in Guatemala shows our adult male groups to be somewhat more productive than the Guatemalan groups.[9] Among our adults

[8] B. Klopfer and D. M. Kelly, *The Rorschach Technique* (Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Co., 1942), pp. 207–08.

[9] O. Billig, John Gillin, and W. Davidson, "Aspects of Personality and Culture in a Guatemalan Community," *Journal of Personality*, 16 (1947), 153–78; (1948), 328–68.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

(Groups A and B, C. A. 20–74), 15 out of 42, or roughly one-third, give 20 or more responses to the cards, and among our younger subjects (Groups C and D, C. A. 9–19), 28 out of 50 give 20 or more responses to the cards. Only one out of 25 Indian males (C. A. 20–78) in the Guatemalan village of San Luis Jilotepeque, gives 20 or more reiponses; and out of 25 Ladino males of equivalent chronological age, only three give 20 or more answers. The adolescent groups in the Guatemalan study are very small (five Indians and five Ladinos with C. A. 10–19). Two of the five in each group give a great many responses, as did a few of our subjects. The other three in each group give less than 20 answers.

Kaplan has found adult males (ages 20–40), among Navajo and Sioux Indians, Spanish-Americans, and Mormons in the South West of the United States, who produce, on the average, between 19 and 22 responses, which approximates what we have found in our B_2, C_2, D_1, and D_2 groups.[10] The females tested in Tepoztlán gave fewer responses than the males, but there is no reported material on the productivity of the females in these other Indian groups with which our results can be compared. Among the Berens River, Salteaux Indians in Canada, Hallowell found both males and females giving between 20 and 30 answers to the cards, but he did not report differences between the sexes as to number of responses.[11] These Salteaux Indians appear to be somewhat more productive and more imaginative than the people of Tepoztlán, living more freely in their phantasy world (high M frequency). We can say, however, that the Tepoztecans appear to be more productive than the Guatemalan Ladinos and Indians. This greater responsiveness of Tepoztecans can again be seen by the extreme infrequency with which they rejected cards, as compared with the Indians and Ladinos in the Guatemalan study. Fifty-six per cent of the adult Ladinos and 60 per cent of the Indians rejected at least one card. Among all our population (adults and children, out of 106 only 15 (14 per cent) rejected one card or more; ten of these rejected one or two cards, and five rejected three or four cards.[12]

In some ways our Tepoztecan adults are closer to the Ladinos than the Indians, in quality of response. This is seen in the extent to which they were able to show some degree of expansiveness in their imaginative and emotional modes of functioning (as measured by the human movement and color responses to the cards). Among the Guatemalan Indians, 80 per cent gave no M responses, 56 per cent no color; among the Ladinos, 46 per cent did not perceive human movement in the cards, and 43 per cent perceived no color. In Tepoztlán among our adult A and B groups, 43 per cent gave no human movement and 42 per cent no color. Thus, we can say that the Ladino and the Tepoztecan adults appear less rigid, and possibly better endowed intellectually than do the Guatemalan Indians. Also they show

[10] B. Kaplan, a study in process at Harvard University, Department of Human Relations.

[11] A. I. Hallowell, "Acculturation Processes and Personality Changes as Indicated by the Rorschach Technique," *Rorschach Research Exchange and Journal of Projective Techniques*, VI (1942), 42–50.

[12] The cards most frequently rejected were IV, VI, IX, those most usually rejected in Rorschach testing.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

157 171 greater ability or willingness to reveal their phantasy life (M) and feelings (C) than do the Guatemalan Indians. Since there are not two cultural groups with different status positions living side by side in Tepoztlán as in San Jilotepeque, our adult groups are freer than the other Indian group to move in a world of their own, and do not have to withdraw from or resist the assumed feelings of superiority of a mestizo group.

On the other hand Tepoztecans do not live in as lively a phantasy world as do the Berens River, Salteaux Indians investigated by Hallowell. Among 58 adults (men and women sixteen years of age or over), the average number of M responses was 3.9; but in Tepoztlán, among our adolescents and adults (subgroups A, B, C), only 17 out of 67 gave more than one M response. The Tepoztecan group as a whole was not spontaneous in the use of creative imagination nor in living in a [154] phantasy world. They are living much closer to a concrete and realistic world than were the Salteaux Indians, and did not allow themselves the kind of freedom in which their phantasies are encouraged or left uninhibited.

INTER-GROUP COMPARISONS

157 In the following discussion when we speak of a characteristic in which a subgroup shows a definite high or low trend we shall mean something specific statistically. By high trend we shall mean that over 60 per cent of a subgroup gives a score at or higher than a rough median for the whole Tepoztecan group. For example, we found out how many cases in a subgroup gave fifteen or more responses to the blots, how many gave seven or more whole answers, two or more human movement answers, 50 per cent or more pure form. On the other hand, if less than 40 per cent of a subgroup had a score at or below the whole group median, we have taken this to indicate a low trend in a particular scoring category. (See Tables 54 and 55.)

The older adults (subgroups A_1 female, and A_2 male) are characterized by a low frequency of large detail responses (D), low frequencies of human and animal movement (M and FM) and low percentage frequency of animal content responses. The older adults, men and women, appear to have low energy drives (FM); their imaginative life is to some degree restricted, but they also seem to have not too conventional attitudes toward problems of everyday living (low A% and D). The deviant position of these older men and women, however, is not the same. The men move from a more conventional and everyday way of life to a more highly uncontrolled and explosive emotional one; the older women, although still functioning in a very concrete and controlled way, become rigid, pedantic, and fussy in adapting to their life situations. The older males are high in giving crude whole answers, while the older women are varied in number of whole answers and in number of small detail. In their manner of approach to the cards, the women do not show the rather poorly controlled, unreflective, and uncritical intellectual approach that is characteristic of the older men.

Along with the crude approach of these older males goes a low pure-form fre-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

157

TABLE 55. Summary of Table 54 Showing the Rorschach Categories in Which Each Subgroup Was High in Frequency (60 Per Cent of the Subgroup) or Low in Frequency (40 Per Cent of the Group).

Subgroup	A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2	D_1	D_2	F_1	F_2
High Frequency (60 per cent of the subgroup exceeded rough median for group as a whole)	F% H Obj	W W% C c Anat	W% C	R D	W% F% Obj	R c H Obj N	R F% H Obj N	R D F% A%	R W% F H	F%
Low Frequency (40 per cent of the group did not reach the rough median for group as a whole)	D M FM C' A% Anat	D M FM F% A% H Obj N	R FM C C' H Obj Anat N	W M A%	R W D M FM C C' c N	M F% A% Anat	W W% M C' c Anat	W W% M FM C C' c H N	W D M FM C C' c Obj Anat	R W D M FM C C' c H Obj Anat

quency (F%) and a high color and shading frequency of the more impetuous type (C, CF, FC, c, C'), indicating impulsiveness in behavior with weak control over emotional outbursts, thoughts, and ideas. The older males also give a high frequency of anatomy answers with low frequencies for human, object, plant, and nature content, as well as a high percentage of animal responses. They show some self-consciousness and preoccupation with sexual functioning, by the number of anatomy responses given. These men seem to be overwhelmed by circumstances they cannot handle and are forced to react to them with impulsivity, and with some depression, anxiety, and helplessness. If we found such protocols among subjects living in the United States, as we have found in Tepoztlán,[13] we should consider them to be records of individuals traumatized in some way, perhaps from excessive alcohol or from a severe and overwhelming emotional experience.

In comparing the protocols of the older men with those of the older women in Tepoztlán, we should say that the women are working hard to be in control, perhaps dominating the men. This pattern is seen among the older women by their strict intellectual control over their impulses and phantasies (high F%), and by their interest in people and in concrete objects (high frequencies for human and object content). They are low in the anxiety-ridden anatomy answers characteristic of the men; seven of the nine women perceive no anatomy while nine out of twelve older men interpret the blots as anatomy at least once. The women appear to be functioning well in a concrete and realistic manner, although it is rather limited and rigid. They are organized in their routine activities and have control over their impulses. They seem efficient, determined, and can assume considerable responsibili

[13] For a sampling of the protocols taken in Tepoztlán, see Appendix E, p. 463.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

157 ties in their affairs, but they do not show any warmth toward people or desire to cooperate with them through friendliness or in give and take.

Among the males and females in the next younger group (C. A. 20-39), we find a somewhat different picture from that of the older groups. The women are low in a great variety of factors: in number of responses, in animal movement, in use of bright and achromatic color, and low in variety of content (human, object, plant, nature, and anatomy). They are also less productive than the males, less rigid than the older females, and show a less clear-cut channeling of their interests than the older women; they do not show any high trend in giving specific types of content, such as human and object. They seem to be playing what may be a more passive or perhaps more adaptive role than do the older women; that is, adaptive in the sense of accepting domination on the part of males more readily. They do have some tendency to be timid and cautious, or at least to be more subdued in emotional responsiveness (seven give small c responses), and they apparently do not reveal the obstinancy or ability to express and enforce their wishes and desires as much as the older women. We might say that they seem to be more or less at peace with themselves and more accepting of their role in society than any other female group.

The males in this age group (C. A. 20-39) appear to be in a dominant position. They are quite productive on the Rorschach test (high R), quite concrete and realistic in their approach to situations (high D), characteristics contrary to those found in the older males. On the other hand, they have a tendency to show the characteristics of the older males; at least five of the nine men showed the impulsivity, the anxiety, bodily precoccupation, and depressive features revealed in the records of the older men. But they are in control over these impulses and do not reveal the disorganization shown by the older men. They are, it would seem, able to run the show, make decisions in their families, have their authority respected or at least not directly opposed, as must be the case in the relationships between the older males and females. Nevertheless we see some of the characteristics of the older males beginning to appear in the younger men.

The predominant pattern for the adolescent girls (C. A. 13-19) is that of low productivity (number of responses), low energy drives (FM), and high intellectual control over phantasies and impulses (low human movement and color responses and high form percentage frequency). They give but few animal responses but a fairly high number of object answers, suggesting a removal from the more childish world of interest. They have more of the pattern of the older women (C. A. over 40), exercise a rigid control over impulses, and pay attention to the concrete but necessary objects in the world around them. In general these adolescent girls look as though they are not having much fun and as if they have been trained and pushed beyond their years to fit into an adult female pattern. But their way of adjustment is less flexible than that of the young adult women (higher F% and lower $\overline{Fc}$).

In contrast the adolescent boys (C. A. 13-19) do not have rigid intellectual control over phantasies and feelings (low F%) as do the adolescent girls. They are

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

more expansive in responding to the world around them than are the girls (eight of the fifteen boys gave two or more color responses). They gave a high frequency of shading responses (c) which are associated with nature answers, such as rain clouds, waterfalls, water in a pool, sky. The objects that they see in the blots are not those of daily use (pots, pans, flower-pots) as perceived by the women, but things like a gun, a hinge, or a box. This suggests that these boys are exploring the world around them, are interested in girls (giving human but no anatomy answers), and in doing things they want to do. But at the same time they feel anxious about their sexual phantasies and perhaps about their more direct sexual activities (shading responses and seeing such sexual symbols as waterfalls, rain, etc.).

It looks as though these boys had been handled much more permissively than the girls, allowed to have their own way much more, given greater sexual freedom, and had not been pinned down to responsibilities beyond their years. But even though they enjoy more freedom, these boys are conflicted over the role they are expected or able to play in society. If they have been raised by women who have the characteristic pattern of the women in our older adult group, who appear dominant and in control, and by the older men who appear disorganized and ill-controlled emotionally, we can surmise that these adolescent boys are more deeply under the control of women and influenced by them.

The Rorschach records suggest that the girls are held down, and that they are expected to refrain from sexual activity, to do their duty, and to work · patterns of behavior that are not expected from the boys. They want to behave like males, be free and dominant, but they cannot quite make the grade. They are concerned over their sexual phantasies, and they are not repressed like girls, but they do not have any steady and secure influence to help them overcome their feelings of anxiety; the older men are too disorganized to help the boys in this, and the older women are too dominant and rigid.

As we have said before, it is the young adult males (C. A. 20-40) who appear the best adjusted and able to handle themselves. We hypothecate that the better performance of the young adult men, as compared with that of adolescent boys and older men, may be due to the fact that they are expected by the Tepoztecan society to play the leading role, work, raise families, and have recreation. For a time they succeed in following this pattern, but later on they break down and become less well integrated and less dominant. The older women take over and run the show, while the older men tend to lose control and become impulsive and less well organized.

In several respects, the prepubertal boys and girls (C. A. 9-12) are more alike than are the two sexes above this age level. Both groups are high in productivity (fifteen or more responses per person, for nine out of twelve girls and ten out of thirteen boys), a characteristic which has been found true only of males at the older age, Groups B_2 and C_2. Groups D_1 and D_2 have a high-form percentage (ten out of twelve for the girls, ten out of thirteen for the boys). Both sexes are low in human movement, color, and shading responses, exhibiting a rigid (high F%) but deter-

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

157 mined approach (high R) to situations without allowing themselves freedom for enjoyment (C) or creative phantasy (M).

The boys are high in animal content and fairly high in giving large detail answers, revealing interest in the usual and everyday events of the world and doing what would be expected of children of this age in various cultures. But they do not all exhibit the spontaneity (FM) we should expect to find in young children. They exhibit none of the anxiety and self-consciousness (c) and preoccupation with the body (Anat) shown by older males. They give a picture of children who are expected to behave a certain way—not to give way to temper tantrums, not to show too much of their feelings—but who are not forced to have interests beyond their years (only high content is the animal).

The girls are also expected to behave in a certain correct way and not give vent to their feelings, but it also looks as though they were being pushed to take interest in matters beyond their years. They are low in animal content and high in human and object content as are the older women. This kind of interest we should not expect to find in young girls in any culture, rather they would be expected to see animals frequently in the blots as do boys. It looks then as if their childhood was being taken away from them and that they were expected to act like adults and suppress their more natural impulses and interests for their age level. Not only are they pushed by adults, but they have succeeded in pushing themselves in this direction; they show no signs of revolt or worry about what they are forced to do. This push of theirs is further seen by the fact that seven of these twelve girls give seven or more small detail responses (dd), suggestive of fussiness, while only one boy gives this many responses of this kind.

We suggest that both boys and girls are being driven in some ways and have not been reared in a warm and accepting atmosphere, but rather in a neutral one emotionally. We can see from the records of these children and the adults that their attitudes toward each other are not those of friendliness, but rather of duty and getting things done.

We cannot say a great deal about the little children (C. A. 5-8) especially the little girls, since there were only four records that could be used; three were discarded because no answers were given or none relating to the blots. A few of the children are quite productive and show a high frequency of response. Nearly all of them give a high percentage frequency of pure-form answers, but with children as young as this it would be hard to conclude the extent to which this mode of response indicates rigid intellectual control. This high frequency of pure form may be due to inability to elicit from the children statements about their percepts in terms of movement and color. We may say, however, that some of the little boys show spontaneity by giving color responses, while both boys and girls show some interest in the world around by not limiting themselves to the more stereotyped animal answers. Boys and girls in this group do not seem to be as differentiated as they are in the C. A. 9-12 group.

Although we have very little evidence from these records, we suggest that these

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

children do not seem to be crushed by adults and allowed no chance to enjoy themselves. We hypothecate that they are being accepted in a matter of fact and detached manner. 157

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the Rorschach data we may say that sex differentiations become well marked among the prepubertal boys and girls (C. A. 9-12). The girls appear to be living or forced to live in a world where they are expected to have grown-up interests and to carry on adult activities. They seem to be able to control their impulses well. The prepubertal boys, in general, have the same pattern in the Rorschach as do the girls, having a controlled and efficient way of life without showing warmth or getting close to people. But their records are more spontaneous than are those of the girls of the same age level, and they take an interest in the kind of activities related to children rather than to adults.

In her adolescent years (C. A. 13-19) the girl in Tepoztlán does not expand and enjoy herself. Her sex life is suppressed. She appears more rigid and controlled than at any other age level. The adolescent boy in Tepoztlán does not seem to be hemmed in by the discipline imposed on the adolescent girl. He is productive and fairly spontaneous, and his range of interests and activities seems to be broader. It looks as though his sexual life was less inhibited than that of the adolescent girl. But still the adolescent youth reveals anxiety about his sexual needs and satisfactions.

In her younger adult years (C. A. 20-39) the Tepoztecan woman is less tense in her efforts to conform and do her duty than is the adolescent girl. But even so she shows little signs of liveliness and warmth. We surmise that she accepts her role in life and does not make demands or bids for sympathy and understanding. She has learned to be the kind of person she is expected to be, a controlled and efficient individual who takes care of the material needs of everyday living, and who does not express emotional needs nor give out any love and affection. It is suggested that she has somehow learned to get more satisfaction from activities and enterprises related to the daily routine rather than from her sexual activity. To the woman of Tepoztlán sex is not to be enjoyed or cultivated but to be suppressed or considered a duty.

We have the impression from the Rorschach protocols that when the male in Tepoztlán reaches adulthood (C. A. 20–39), he feels fairly secure in his role in society and especially in his sexual role. But from the records, it looks as though the fully adult males in Tepoztlán can rely on themselves, be efficient, productive, and derive satisfaction from life only when they feel secure in their sexual role. The anxiety experienced in their adolescence is never entirely removed. We see in the younger adult males, signs that point to the impulsive, undisciplined behavior that is the characteristic pattern of the older males. But nevertheless these younger adults are able to handle their impulses and anxieties. We suggest that they are running the show and playing the role of masters of the society.

As she grows older (C. A. 40 +), the strict discipline which has been impressed

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

157 on the female from childhood in Tepoztlán becomes her strength; it would appear that she realizes she can control and manipulate the world about her. She is undisturbed by daydreams, sexual urges, and emotional needs. The older woman has somehow discovered that she can now run the show and does so. We suggest that the older men do not accept this role on the part of women, and that they become the ones in conflict.

What seems to happen to the male as he matures (C. A. 40 +) is that, for physical and psychological reasons, he becomes sexually impotent. We surmise that he is losing mastery over his world and becomes impulsive as well as conflicted.

156 About Tepoztecan society as a whole we may say that friendliness and cooperative enterprise are not among their characteristics. These people seem rather to be 157 uncooperative and rigid, and are trained to do their duty and to work hard in their daily tasks. The people of Tepoztlán are realistic. They live and struggle in a concrete world in which phantasy living has been reduced to a minimum or even excluded. They exist together but do not act cooperatively. No doubt they work for a common aim, keeping alive and maintaining the family unit, but each one must do his tasks with reserve and with little feeling for others.

157 In conclusion we may say that the outstanding feature of the Rorschach records in Tepoztlán is the indication of the opposite course taken by the life cycle of the 562 men and women. Women appear to be initiated early in their role in life, and are consistently expected to avoid sex as a source of pleasure. They follow a well-defined line of development, with conscious control over their feelings and impulses, but in later years they assume the dominant role in society. Men experience more discontinuity and inconsistency in behavior; they are likely to be more exuberant than women but also more anxious and insecure. As they grow older they lose their dominant position, and the older adults appear disturbed, impulsive, and anxious. They seem to be losing the grip on society that the older women are taking over.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

183 562 593 to admire a man who is manly, they describe the "good" husband as one who is relatively passive and not too domineering. But they are as critical as men are of wives who answer back or resist their husbands, even though they do it themselves. Also, while women unanimously prefer a submissive daughter-in-law for themselves, they do not always advise their own daughters to yield to mothers-in-law. There is also a definite tendency to regard the completely submissive wife more as a fool than as an ideal. The fact that there is no feeling of inadequacy among women for not achieving the ideal of feminine behavior, and the fact that they feel pride rather than guilt in self-assertion, indicates that they no longer hold the cultural ideal as their own.

Women are, then, more in conflict with traditional ways than are men. Husbands generally find themselves in a defensive position in which they must conserve the old order of things in the home, to maintain their control over the family. Men show symptoms of anxiety and feelings of inadequacy because of their inability to fulfill their roles to their own satisfaction. Wives tend to reject certain aspects of their role, particularly those which interfere with their freedom of movement and economic activities. The strong preference women display toward work which takes them outside the home, and their feeling of deprivation when they cannot [842] leave the home, are evidence of this. Perhaps related to this is the fact that pregnancy and bearing of children are viewed without enthusiasm by women. These attitudes of women are in sharp contrast to those of men. The reaction of women to the pressure to conform, is one of a sense of frustration and deprivation. [157] The martyr-complex is widespread among married women, and in telling their life stories, women are often so overwhelmed by self-pity that they break down and cry. They dwell on the sadness of their lives and the faults of their husbands. It is, [578] they say, a woman's unhappy lot to suffer at the hands of men. The hostility toward men is quite general, and women readily characterize all men as "very bad."

183 594 [178] The question of authority in husband-wife relations is very much in the minds of men and women in Tepoztlán. There is an awareness, on the part of both, of the growing assertiveness of wives and the continual struggle of husbands to keep them under control. The changes within the village in the past twenty years or so have made this struggle more acute and have brought it into the open. There is a saying among men, "When the man relaxes, the woman takes over." Similarly, women say, "When we give in, the men impose." Even the most conventional women believe that there is a time to yield and a time to resist.

Basic to the conflict in the relations of husbands and wives is the discrepancy between the actual roles and the ideal roles in the organization of the family. Although the wife is subordinate to the husband, it is she who has the greatest responsibility for the planning, organizing, and operation of the household, and for the training and care of the children. The husband traditionally turns over all his earnings to his wife, and she holds the funds and controls much of the spending. In most homes, the husband will not interfere with the wife's handling of the money, so long as she gives him money when he wants it. The good wife is not

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

general observations on the life cycle: 20

121 THE QUESTIONS with which we are here concerned are as follows: (1) What, in summary, are the general qualities of inter-personal relations in Tepoztlán? In other words, what is the Tepoztecan social character? (2) How are the adult attitudes and value systems of Tepoztecans reflected in child training patterns? (3) To what extent does the training of children in Tepoztlán prepare them for adult life? (4) What are the conflict points and inconsistencies in this culture, and how do they affect the lives of men and women?

157 As we have seen, Tepoztecans value hard work, thrift, practicality, restraint, submission to authority, and the ability to conform. In inter-personal relations, [181] Tepoztecans are detached, individualistic, and sensitive to status differences, with a generalized readiness to be suspicious, negativistic, and even hostile. Gossip, complaint, envy, and criticism are common. Tepoztecans are a constricted people, as seen in their lack of warmth and limited expression of affection, in their attitudes toward sex, and in their general absence of self-expression. Fantasy, imagination, and creativity are at a minimum; although Tepoztecans are turned within themselves, they are not dreamers. They are an indirect people; they frequently rely upon the use of intermediaries and upon formality. Deception also is a sanctioned form of indirection, and the direct expression of aggression is strongly discouraged. Competition between individuals is rare. When competition occurs, it is between groups, thereby giving it a quality of impersonality. Finally, the aspiration level of most Tepoztecans does not place an undue burden on them and does not lead to any marked anxiety.

155 The patterns of child training in Tepoztlán reflect many of the attitudes and value systems noted above. One of the underlying principles in child rearing is to develop children who are easy to control. Submissiveness, quietness, passivity, and dependence are all encouraged; activity, aggression, demanding, self-gratification, curiosity, and independence are discouraged. This is manifested in the long nursing period, in swaddling and restricting the movements of the child, in the belief that the child must not cry, in the absence of preoccupation with training the child to walk, talk, eat alone, and develop sphincter control.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

visit a doctor because of their conviction that doctors do not understand either the cause or the cure of such diseases.

Governed by their own interpretation of illness, people in the village approach modern doctors with distrust, realizing that they do not fully understand certain classes of illness, such as those due to evil humors or those related to the hot-cold distinction. It is, therefore, important for the doctor to become familiar with the native concepts and to utilize them as a psychological means of gaining confidence. The job of establishing rapport and gaining confidence under these conditions is no easy one. It demands a doctor who has the zeal and spirit of a missionary and some understanding of the relativity of cultural values.

Aside from factors of personality and of understanding local beliefs, the ability of a doctor to gain confidence and prestige depends upon his technical skill in making accurate diagnoses and effecting cures. While it is unfair to generalize about the quality of Mexican rural doctors as a whole, our impression from personal experience is that they are poorly trained and equipped and show little enthusiasm for work in the villages. Considering the conditions under which rural doctors must live and work in Mexico, it is probable that this phenomenon is more widespread. There is little incentive for the superior doctor to leave the city and go to rural areas. At best, few are willing to undergo the hardships of rural life with its isolation and lack of comforts and diversions; in addition, salaries are low, opportunities for advancement are few, and there is little permanency of assignment. As a result of these conditions, rural doctors are frequently recruited from those of inferior abilities and this in turn makes it more difficult to win over the Indian villager to modern medicine.

Local Organizational Patterns

Any attempt to revive or establish a "democratic" institution, such as a cooperative in a community that has lived for years under an authoritative system, must take cognizance of the profound effect of this conditioning to authority upon the psychology of the people. The lack of personal initiative and village spirit found in Tepoztlán may be attributed to this conditioning. Our experience made it clear that chances for success would have been